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A METRICAL STUDY
OF
THREE POEMS OF ROMANOS

by

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INTRODUCTION

Byzantine Church Poetry

Early Theories About Meter:

It seems self-evident that to study Romanos, "the melodious", an understanding of the meter is essential; and yet - odd as it may seem - a metrical foundation for the early Greek church poetry was not recognized by western scholars until one hundred years ago, although the modern Greeks in practice never lost sight of its existence.¹

Pitra was the first to make public the metrical character of this Byzantine verse,² and yet even he thought that the Byzantines themselves considered their hymns as prose. This seems especially strange since we are told that it was while he was conning over a Greek canon in St. Petersburg in 1859 and came to red points placed at the same interval in every strophe that he decided that this measured the number of syllables.³ Even after Pitra's conclusions were published, we find P. Gagarin saying: "Nons croyons que les hymnographes Grecs ont e'crit en prose".⁴ Suidas and other commentators say church poetry is written "καταλογάδην, πῆξυ λόγυ".⁵ Suidas in referring to John of Damascus calls the canons on Christ's nativity iambic trimeter but all others prose.⁶ Christ in 1871 deserved the credit for the recognition of metrical difficulties and he gives a series of illustrations which clarify the real state of the case much better than Pitra. Yet, even after Christ, Sathas called the hymns a puzzle and doubts their metrical foundation.⁷

The truth is that the Byzantines must have recognized the poetic nature of their hymns or they should never have called their hymnographers: "Singers", "Poets" and "Melodists"; but in following the school tradition, where the poetic idea was closely interwoven with the idea of quantity, it never occurred to them to call their rhythmic works verse; and the real question was not investigated because the grammarians thought that non-classical research was beneath them.⁸ For the same reason now, the truly beautiful hymns of the Byzantine period are unknown except in a limited church circle and to a few German scholars.

Then, too, we can account for the ignorance about the metrical foundation of the hymns by its difficulty. As Christ says: "He would surpass Oedipus in sagacity and acumen who, at first sight, could see what laws of the verses of John, Cosmas, and Metrophanis have been set down in the hymnological Thesaurus of Daniel. Not even those verses which have been correctly divided are seen to be verses of such regularity as those of Homer's hexameters or Ovid's elegies; so that they would give the unskilled and untrained any clue to a certain definite law."⁹

Certainly some discussion of the development of this new and difficult metrical form, and some explanation of its general nature must be combined with a clearing-up of the new terminology before any particular study can be made.

Growth of Rhythmic Poetry:

Naturally the early writers of hymns had two models -- the songs of the Jews, and classical poetry. The Codex Alexandrinus gives sure evidence that the psalms made up a large part of the first century Christian songs.¹⁰ Parts of the New Testament such

as the Annunciation were certainly worked in; and the people joined only in the final Hallelujahs, Ahmens, etc., which were called Ephymnian and which developed into the refrain which is very conspicuous at the height of the period in which Romanos flourished.¹¹ Pliny the Younger in a letter written in the second century gives us a clue to the antiphonal nature of these early songs when he says: "stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo, quasi Deo dicere secum invicem".¹² This phase of the hymns has an obviously close parallel in the strophe and antistrophe of the classic Greek drama.

The morning and evening songs of the Greek church which were sung through the middle ages and are still a part of the service, were made up almost entirely of Biblical words and phrases. In the third century the conservative wing of the church objected to the singing of songs¹³ and it is at this time that we find poems following classic models using chiefly Anacreontic verse. The chief writers of this kind were: Methodius, bishop of Tyre, who died in 311 A. D., Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais in Cyrenaica in 410 A. D., and Gregory Nazianzen, patriarch of Constantinople from 330 and 381 A. D.¹⁴ The Aryan controversy only served to hasten the growth of hymnography since St. John Chrysostam was forced to compete with the nocturnal services of the Arians which the people enjoyed.¹⁵

Real church poetry begins in the fifth century, the age of Romanos, and reaches its height in the sixth and seventh centuries. Its actual beginning is uncertain. Anatolius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, may deserve credit for it. Romanos, according to legend, is its inventor. Actually, there

must have been many gropings in the new manner before the time of Romanos and Sergios, his contemporary.

Certainly at the time of Romanos, the old or classical rules of quantity have disappeared, and a meter based on accent and rhythm is in full sway. Perhaps the heretic poetry of the third to fifth century (now almost entirely lost) has in it the germ of the new style;¹⁶ perhaps, the rhythmic poetry already existed in the unformed Greek folk-song along side the classical quantitative poetry; or perhaps, as the difference in the long and short syllable became lost in speech and only the accent prevailed, then accentual poetry developed. No study has been made of the heretic poetry, and none is possible either for it or the unformed Greek folk-song. Pitra, Stevenson and Bouvy think the Hebraic models are responsible for the new development but they make many reservations to their conclusions; and ^{as} Krumbacher suggests¹⁷, this question should remain open until some settlement is reached as to the fundamental facts about Hebraic-Syrian meter.

There certainly are characteristic features of Hebrew poetry, such as the frequent parallelisms, short sentence members, and old acclamations (e. g. Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις) which might support this theory were it not for the fact that real rhythmic prose, full of assonances and short lines certainly existed also in heathen writers and may have been the real germ, while the Hebraic connection only precipitated the change from quantitative to accentual poetry.

Certainly it is difficult to prove that rhythmic poetry started with the church and remained woven into it, because in poetry other than that written for the church the school tradition

of quantitative meter persisted. However, it was only natural that the church should be the first to break with heathen tradition.¹⁸

Whatever hypothesis is accepted as explaining the origin, the fact remains that there were, in addition to the verses depending on quantity, many which followed new laws of accent and the number of syllables. Christ calls the first type metric and the second rhythmic.¹⁹ These metric odes were not sung in church nor put in books of songs; and yet one can't deny that they were sung because of the $\hat{\eta}\chi\omicron\varsigma$ (see below) prefixed to them.

The next period after Romanos finds a highly developed hymn called the canon which reached its best form in the hands of John of Damascus. This was the period of the iconoclastic controversy and hence the more simple hymns such as those of Romanos were displaced by the gravely theological, very dogmatic, and also very complicated canons. They are mentioned here because they combine in their metrical organization all the forms used hitherto; and an analysis of their nature will clear up most of the confusing terminology.

Definitions of New Terminology:

The unit of the system is the strophe or stanza which is divided into verses or clauses with regulated caesuras. Several such strophes make up a troparion.²⁰ Pitra says each troparion has from three to thirty-three verses and each verse from two to thirteen syllables in a continuous series, uniform, alternate, or reciprocal with the meter always syllabic and accentual.²¹ Whether or not this extreme regularity can be accepted will be discussed

later. The individual strophes of the long songs of Romanos, Sergios, and Anastasios were called στίκαο ²² (It is interesting to note that strophes of anacreontics were called by the same name in the Middle Ages, and that Sophronius, the most important author of Anacreontics, flourished at the same time as Romanos.)

The Kontakia ²³ are hard to define because of the different meaning the term has in the "Officium Horarum" from that in the "Liturgy" and that in the "Ordination". In the 'Ακολουθία (Order of service in Greek church) we find the Acta Sanctorum ²⁴ defining as follows: "genus quoddam modulatum Hymni seu Cantici Ecclesiastici ceteris simplicius, iisque brevius, quale singulis diebus festis proprium est." Romanos, who is the reputed inventor of the Kontakia, ²⁵ usually composed them of twenty-four or more strophes.

The troparion in honor of Mary was called a theotokion. It was invented by John of Damascus. ²⁶

The canon was made up of nine odes joined by a common tone rather than by sentiment. The word tone that we used here is a translation of the Greek ἦχος which might be better rendered by "mood". There were eight moods known to the Greeks, ²⁷ and each week had an appropriate one. ²⁸ Consequently the term ἦχος is important in the kontakia because each one is given a special ἦχος at the beginning. The reason for this is that the Greeks rarely saw books printed with musical notes and they had to fix the common hymns in their memories; and they would then inflect others consisting of an equal number of syllables in the same way. ²⁹

For the same purpose, each ode has a standard troparium or hirmus prefixed to it and the whole structure is built upon this -- all the succeeding troparia will have the same number of verses and the same syllables in each verse and the same accents on the same or equivalent syllables.³⁰ Christ says 'the hirmus will determine what is the harmony of the song; and that whatever harmony has been defined first exists throughout. The troparia form their rules through the hirmus and get their rhythm according to it -- as a sort of decree in advance on structure, harmony and melody.³¹ This hirmus³² may either form the first stanza of the Ode, or it may be taken from some other poem. Some mark, such as commas, usually divides it from the rest.

Another device for assisting the memory was the acrostich³³ which was alphabetical in the earliest hymns, but which commonly included the author's name at the time of Romanos e. g. " τοῦ
ταπεινοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ ὕμνος ". The device is valuable to a student of the hymns not only in assuring authorship but also in giving the strophe division. Although it became even more complicated in some instances by having all the lines in a given strophe begin with the same letter, that type of stunt in literature can never claim any particular artistic value. The Greeks inherited it from the synagogue;³⁴ but there were also classical prototypes.³⁵ Usually, the acrostich began in the first strophe; but Romanos often begins in the proemion or in the hirmus.

The proemion consists of one, or possibly two or three small strophes which introduce the troparia.

So we have our Kontakia made up of a series of strophes with acrostich arrangement. These strophes are preceded by a proemion and hirmus whose mood or ἦχος is indicated at the beginning. The strophes (about twenty-four in number) consist of long and short lines with regular caesuras and regular accent or rhythm; and a refrain varying from one to three or four lines winds up each strophe.

Hiatus is disregarded, as is elision, and the difference between acute and circumflex accents which has ceased to be observed in speech is no longer made in verse. Neither does this rhythmic poetry ever agree with classical meter in the sense that it repeats the old verses in accent principle. It is a really independent form which differs from political verse and from contemporary Latin verse.

History of Recent Scholarship on Byzantine Meter:

So much for the general principles upon which there is no doubt at present, and on which the three chief contributors to our knowledge about the meter of Romanos have, on the whole, been in accord. Krumbacher seems to have given the most scholarly and exact treatment of the meter, and before giving a study based on his methods, perhaps it would be well to make clear the main contentions of his famous predecessors, Pitra and Christ, and thus state the points on which these authorities have differed.

Pitra's first publication (1867), - Hymnographie de l'église Grecque - was, as before stated, the first real indication of the metrical character of Byzantine verse. (In it, he found that, after the strophes and their lines had been divided, the little lines which correspond to each other in the individual

strophes consist of an equal number of syllables. From this he jumped to the conclusion that the art of Byzantine poetry could be forced into one definite law in regard to the number of syllables.³⁶ Christ, who published the Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum in collaboration with M. Paramikas in 1871, saw many difficulties that Pitra had not seen and gave in his Praefatio and Prolegomena an admirable summary of Byzantine hymnography.

He reduced some of the many dogmatic statements of Pitra, whom he criticized³⁷ for juggling with the text to make it conform to his conclusions about the meter, to a series of general laws for which he gave illustrations. The special conclusion of Pitra's in regard to the number of syllables Christ claims is not probable in itself, nor to be commended by analogy with Latin hymns. Furthermore, it is actually to be proved false by some lines (Pitra pp. XXIV, Christ p. 239) where the accents are clearly placed by the poet and do not conform to the above stated rule.³⁸

Christ's law if summarized would read as follows:

The troparia which have an equal number of verses use the same 'modus'.

Then in considering the laws that govern the union and division of lines and the correspondence of the members of two or more troparia, he concludes that there is no similarity in the number of syllables, and that the long and short syllables follow in no definite order -- thus differing from classical Greek odes.

The explanation which he gives is that the songs are made to be sung and used so that the individual syllables were pronounced with variations of the voice, so that the cause for

the occurrence of an equal number of syllables must be sought in the nature of the measures.³⁹

Christ insists that it is a mistake to follow one's own judgment rather than faith in ancient writers and remove the inequality of the feet by removing syllables or adding on to them; for when one hears the strophes of a similar song sung, he will continually notice that certain syllables of verses answering one another are struck by a major ictus. (The books of melodies will show the same syllables marked with notations to give both the height and the intention of the voice.)⁴⁰ The third law Christ states as the foundation of Byzantine poetry; namely that troparia answering one another in certain definite places accord in the accent of syllables.⁴¹ The fact that the accent of Greek words has remained unchanged even to our time when accent in other languages is prone to change is an added indication of the continued use of the accent principle in Greek song. This rhythm of verse is accomplished by the ictus returning at certain definite intervals. The acute or accented syllables in Byzantine songs seems to take the place of the long syllables. Although these accents were not so placed as to be coerced into severe laws, still the resulting lines are more or less similar to ancient verses.⁴² That leads us to the fourth general law that the lines have an accented syllable at least in one place. In many cases, all the accents fluctuate except in one case; but even when they agree in many places, one stands out especially. The pronounced accent is often at the end and yet in brief melodies there was great variety at the end.⁴³

After Christ's publication, Pitra's Jubilaumsgabe was

prepared in 1888, and in it he regretted his "nimia audacia" in textual criticism with the result that he makes many more of the emendations to which Christ had already objected and over which Krumbacher becomes quite violent.⁴⁴ There is very little real difference between the views of Krumbacher and Christ, however. The real points of variance is always the division into lines and the method of determining it.⁴⁵ Both are agreed that it is impossible to follow the rules of the old poets.⁴⁶

Christ went over the verses with his musical Greek friend and checked up such divisions as seemed to him natural and concluded that the licenses he finds are in line with the nature of the meter.⁴⁷ He uses a double kind of indication of division quite arbitrarily using vertical lines one time, and marginal indications another time.

Krumbacher, through close metrical analyses and comparisons with tables showing the sense pauses and the major and minor icti, comes to the same general conclusion as Christ when he says that the division into short lines or groups of larger lines was intentional. He uses much clearer topographical means of indicating the divisions by varying the margins; and above all he clears up the relation of the little to the big divisions by a definite method of analysis.⁴⁸

In using his method on three poems of Romanos, I have come to the same conclusions that a frequently repeated reading would probably have given; for certainly if the musical "feel" alone determined the placing of the accent, the length of line, and the grouping of long and short lines,⁴⁹ some musical intuition would catch the same feeling on repeated reading. However, the

definite analysis seems to have every advantage in assuring the more technical conclusions which will be stated at the end of the tables.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. Krumbacher: Gesch. d. Byz. Litt., p. 331.
2. Ibid.
3. (over)
4. H. Stevenson: L'Hymog. de L'Église Grecque, pp. 482-543
5. Ibid, pgs. 491 ff.
6. Christ: Proleg., p. LXXIII.
7. K. Sathas: Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ θεατροῦ καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν βυζαν. σελ. ρν.:
"Τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ταῦτα ἄσματα ἦσαν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἑμμετρα ἢ τοῦλάχιστον ἑρρυθμα σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ ὅμως ἀπαρχαιωθέντος τοῦ μέτρου; ἐγράφοντο ἐν πέζῃ συνεχεῖα, καὶ ὡς τοιαῦτα περιῆλθον ἡμῖν, οὐδενὸς μέχρι τοῦδε δυναθέντος νὰ μαντεύσῃ τὸ μέτρον ἢ τὸν παλαιὸν ρυθμὸν αὐτῶν."
8. Krumbacher: Gesch. d. Byz. Litt., p. 332
9. Christ: Proleg., p. LXXIII:
"Oedipum mehercule sagacitate et acumine superaret, qui, Joannis, Cosmae, metrophanis versuum, quales in Danielis Thesauro hymnologico descripti sunt, leges primo aspectu perspiceret. Ne ii quidem, qui rectius divisi sunt, versus tanta acquabilitate

Notes 3, 15, and 34 are from a review of the books of Neal and Pitra on Greek Hymnography. The review is bound together with other articles in a book in the Gennadion. There is no indication of the name of the publication from which it is taken.

conspicui sunt, quanta Homeri hexametri out Ovidii elegiae,
ut quae vel imperitum et rudem hominem certae cuiusdam legis
commoneant."

10. Krumbacher: Gesch der Byz. Litt., p. 309 ff.

11. Encyclopedia, p. 578:

"Philo describes the Therapeutae (near Alexandria) as
composers of hymns to which the people listened until the
end (acroteleutia, ephymnia), and then all joined". These
people may not have been Christians (Gibbon says not) but
this shows that the practise was common.

12. Pliny's Letters: 10, 96:

Encyclopedia, p. 578:

Cf. Eusebius who preserves a fragment of Caius which refers
to all psalms and odes written by the faithful brethern from
the beginning as hymning Christ, the Word of God, as God.

13. Ibid.

At time of Aurelian Council, the deposing of Paul of Samosatia
from see of Antioch was justified in a letter to Rome which
states that he had prohibited the use of hymns by uninspired
writers.

14. Encyclopedia, p. 580; and Krumbacher: Gesch. d. Byz. Litt.,
p. 310 ff.

15. See 3.

"No use was made by the Greeks of the theological poetry of
St. Gregory Nazianzen; and the hymns of Synesius were not

used."

16. Christ: Proleg., p. LXXIX:

Before Gregory, Babrius, a writer of fables, although he strictly observes metrical laws in writing his halting verses, nevertheless paid this much attention to accent that he never placed an acute syllable in the penult place.

17. Krumbacher: Gesch. d. Byz. Litt., p. 341 ff.

18. Krumbacher: Gesch. d. Byz. Litt., p. 343.

19. Christ: Proleg., p. XXVI.

20. As to the origin of this word the following theories are discussed in Acta Sanct. Praef., pp. XVI and XVII:

1. Liguridius says it is derived from τροπαιῖον or hymn of victory and that οἱ τρόποι or the character of each saint are therein set forth.

2. Goarus says that it comes from τροπή a turning.

This may be because of the turning or flexing of the voice in singing or because the canonarchum turn now to this chorus and now to that or because the verses are turned and inflected after the mode of the Hirmus.

Christ: Proleg., p. LXVIII ff. says it is a diminutive form of τρόπος and refers to a certain "modus" of song.

21. Encyclopedia, p. 580.

22. Christ, Proleg., p. LVVII:

The origin of the word suggests a parallel with a part of a building.

Goarus is quoted in Acta Sanct., XVII and XVIII as saying that the ὄϊκος is a kind of hymn made to praise God or a saint -- made like a structure or building whose virtue is to glorify.

23. Habertus is quoted in Acta Sanctorum as giving the etymology from κοντός, a brief thing. Ligurdus says it comes from the word for javelin (κοντάξ). Christ in Proleg., p. LXVI prefers this etymology and interprets it as meaning missiles sent from the mind of a poet. (by analogy with Pindar Ol. II, 97 where songs are compared to arrows).

24. Acta. Sanct., Praef. pp. XVII and XVIII.

25. Sophocles: Byz. Dict., quoting Menaea - Oct. I:

" τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ μνήμῃ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν κοντακίων. ----- ὡς εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων κοντακίων ὑπὲρ τὰ χίλια."

26. Christ Proleg., p. LXI.

27. Acta Sanct., Praef., pp. XV and XVI; Sophocles: Byz. Dict.:

The four authentic moods were first called by musicians the "principales recti" and include:

ἦχος πρῶτος α'
" δευτέρος β'
" τρίτος γ'
" τετάρτος δ'

The other four, the plagal moods were called "obliqui ministri" and included: πλ. α'; πλ. β'; ἦχος βαρύς; and πλ. δ'.

A good discussion (musical) of these moods will be found in Pole: Philosophy of Music, London, 1895, Chapter IX.

28. Sophocles: Byz. Dict.: "Ὁ ἐνδιάτακτος ὄν ἐνόρδινος ἦχος. Ἡ κοριακὴ τοῦ ἀντίτασχα".

29. Acta. Sanct. Praef., pp. XV and XVI.

30. A more detailed discussion of this general principle with exceptions to it is given below.

31. Christ: Proleg., p. LX.

Cf. Zonaras as quoted by Christ from Comment Canonum

Joannis: "Ὁ μὲν οὖν εἶρμος ἀρμονία τις ἐστὶ μέλους ἐν συδέσει. φωνῆς ἐνάρθρου τε καὶ σημαντικῆς ὠρισμένῃ τινὶ μέτρῳ καὶ ποσῷ μεγέθους περιγραφομένη. ἣτις ἀρμονία προωρισμένη τε καὶ προεγνωσμένη. προὔκειται πρὸς ἣν τὰ λεγόμενα τροπάρια ἀναφέρεται. οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴ τῶν τροπαρίων ἐστὶ καὶ κανόνων, ἐπεὶ τὰ τροπάρια διὰ τοῦ εἶρμου κανονίζεται καὶ ρυθμίζεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς προεὔποδειγμα συντιθέμενα καὶ ἀρμοζόμενά τε καὶ μελωδούμενα."

32. The origin of the term is difficult. Christ: Proleg.,

p. LX gives the following explanations:

1. Connected with Latin 'tractus' because it is drawn out like Hallelujah. This is unlikely since they were not drawn out but were given to show individual modulations of the voice.

2. Referring to scholiast on Pindar Nem. II, 2 the etymology of rhapsodist is explained by its connection with ῥάβδον to point out the words of Homer... οἱ δὲ φασι, ὁπότε

ῥαψωδοῦεν, εἰρμῶ τινὶ καὶ ῥαφῆ παραπλήσιον
ποιεῖν εἰς ἐν αὐτὴν ἄγοντος."

Whatever the etymology, it is certain that the word
anciently signified modulation and was afterwards trans-
ferred to songs accomodated to that modulation.

33. For fuller information on the acrostich see Krumbacher:

Die Akrostichis in der Griechischen Kirchenpoesie, and

W. Weyh: Die Akrostichies in der Byzantinischen Kanonesdichtung.

34. See 3

35. Krumbacher: Gesch de Byz. Litt., pp. 338 ff.

"Diese Künstlerie zuerst in der Orakellitleratur
zur Anwendung gekommen. Wenigstens scheint das älteste Beispiel
einer erhaltenen Akrostichis in den um das Jahr 200 V. Chr.
abgefassten sibyllinischen Orakeln vorzuliegen."

Cicero also gives an example in De Divin., II, 54: "Q. ENNIVS
FECIT."

36. Christ, Praefatio, p. IV:

"Ille, enim, cum strophis eorumque colis ex codicum fide divis
versiculos, qui in singulis strophis eorumque colis ex codicum
fide divis versiculos, qui in singulis strophis sibi invicem
responderent, pari syllabarum numero constare recte intellexisset,
una numeri syllabarum lege artem byzantinorum poctarum coerceri
iudicavit."

For criticism of Pitra's method of forcing verses to the norm

see Christ, Proleg., p. LXXV ff.

37. Ibid.:

"Continuo librum (Pitra de hymnographia ecclesiae graecae) a collega humanissimo mihi commodatum perscrutatus cum summo gaudio intellexi, lineolas a me ad separandos versiculos positas non modo auctoritate viri litterarum byzantinorum inter paucos periti sed etiam, id quod multo plus valet, fide vetustissimarum membranarum comprobari atque confirmari; cum enim in illis singula cola punctis distincta essent, iam certo et comprobato fundamento indagatio numerorum niti videbatur. Tantum autem aberat, ut Pitra, quamvis egregiis subsidiis adiutus esset, artem poetarum ecclesiasticorum plane perspiceret ut mihi iam ante librum eius perlectum certae cuiusdam rei suspicio subnata esset, quam virum doctissimum fugisse non possum non mirari."

38. Christ, Praefatio, p. V.

39. Christ, Proleg., LXXV ff.

40. Ibid., p. LXXVII.

41. Ibid., p. LXXX:

"The same law was propounded in a book on prosody by a Byzantine grammarian (erroneously given the title 'Theodorus'):
"If one wishes to compose a canon, first it is necessary to sound the hirmus, and then to bring in the troparia of an equal number of syllables, keeping the same tone as a guard". The Byzantine writers followed the same plan even in political verses and do not put an acute syllable in two or more places

of the verse. Latin writers of the Middle Ages used the
rule of accent when quantity of syllable had been neglected."

42. Ibid., p. LXXXVIII.

43. Ibid., p. LXXXIX.

For schemes possible see p. XCI

It is worth noticing that the classical Greek writers, too,
kept the chief accent away from the first of line e. g.
Dactyllic Hexameter of Latin and the Sapphic verse in Greek.

44. Krumbacher: Studien, p. 74 ff.

After stating that emendations are bad for colloquial
usage when there is no paleographical nor editorial basis
for them, he makes (p. 76) a careful study of line thirteen
of the hirmus to Keusche Joseph III and Petri Verleugnung
and concludes that it would be difficult to think of an
emendator who made changes according to speech or sense
without a consideration of meter, and also unthinkable
that he changed the verse as often as in above example always
so that he either dropped or added a syllable. The alter-
native of a metrically-trained copyist who, in order to make
the meter regular, left it irregular is equally absurd.

Ibid., p. 86:

The fact that Pitra's conjectures in regard to long lines
division were in every case responsible for a seeming dis-
crepancy show that he has a bad basis for metrical study.

Ibid., p. 86:

"Diese Arbeit (Der Keusche Joseph III von Pitra) ist in

ihrer absoluten Mangelhaftigkeit ein wahres Ratsel, und es ist ein Glück für Pitras Namen, dass sie nahezu mit Ausschluss der Öffentlichkeit publiziert worden ist", etc.

45. Krumbacher: Studien, p. 87:

During the time that useful marks were put in all manuscripts for the division of short lines (although this, too, was faulty) there was no trace of graphic indication to point out other strophe divisions.

Christ: Proleg., p. LXXIV: (translated)

In the manuscripts the individual strophes are commonly so divided that a new strophe is begun on a new line and with a larger initial letter which is not rarely painted red. In order that they may divide the individual cola of strophes, the secretaries of the manuscripts placed after each column a point or gold star which Pitra in his Hymnographie (p 12) says was put even in Codex Mosquensi. This custom (kept from old editors) of interjecting a point, more recent editors have so changed that they put commas in place of periods. Although I know of no book in which the divisions of the cola have been clearly omitted, still there are often some manuscripts that make the cola division in one place and others in another.

46. Christ: Proleg., p. XCI ff.:

Because whereas Pindar and the rest often joined two cola by a continued work, they never abused this cola by a license at the end of a period; but the Byzantine Poets very rarely end a word at the end of the column. So that

an ended word is very slight proof of the end of a verse
/or period.

47. Christ: Proleg., p. XCI ff:

That is, that in the middle verses, the cola end with short final phrases; and in the last, there is no obstacle to keep from putting four instead of three syllables (since they used greater flexibility of voice there).

48. I have changed the indentations so the lines which are in the same metrical group come almost under the first line of the group. This has the advantage of making the poets parallel language in the smaller divisions stand out. Observe this especially in the "Judas" as printed on page sixteen.

49. Krumbacher: Studien, p. 334.

METRICAL STUDY

Christmas Hymn:

The Christmas hymn of Romanos is one of his most famous ones and yet the only text available for this study was that in the "Κοντάκια καὶ Κάνονες τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ποιησεως π. Χρησίου".

If the fall of the accent is marked in the first line of each strophe we notice that the third syllable and the last syllable invariably receive an accent², whereas the first syllable receives it in only seven of the twenty three cases and the fourth in only six. The second syllable gets only four accents and the fifth syllable is never accented. It is easy to see that the third and last syllables have major accents and that the first might be considered to have a secondary accent. It isn't so likely that the second and fourth syllables received any voice stress at all and it is perfectly clear that the next to the last syllable got none. This would give the preference to the last syllable as the most important accent, and if we wish to go so far as to indicate accents of every shade we should conclude that the line was read or sung according to this scheme: ' — " — — "' . Leaving out the weak first accent, we can feel sure of a scheme that looks like this: — — ' — — "' for the first line. Following such a plan of analysis for each line, the twenty-three verses of the "Christmas Hymn" appear to have as a scheme for the Hirmus:

- Verse 1. — — ' — — "' (6 syllables, scheme a)
- Verse 2. ' — — ' — — "' — — (8 syllables, scheme b)
- Verse 3. — — ' — — "' (6 syllables, scheme a)
- Verse 4. ' — — ' — — "' — — (8 syllables, scheme b)
- Verse 5. — — ' — — "' — — (6 syllables, scheme c)
- Verse 6. — — ' — — "' — — (6 syllables, scheme c)

- Verse 7. ' " (5 syllables, scheme d)
- Verse 8. ' " (6 syllables, scheme e)
- Verse 9. ' " (7 syllables, scheme f)
- Verse 10. ' " (5 syllables, scheme d)
- Verse 11. ' " (6 syllables, scheme e)
- Verse 12. ' " (5 syllables, scheme g)
- Verse 13. ' " (6 syllables, scheme e)
- Verse 14. ' " (5 syllables, scheme d)
- Verse 15. ' " (5 syllables, scheme d)
- Verse 16. ' " (8 syllables, scheme h)
- Verse 17. ' " (8 syllables, scheme h)
- Verse 18. ' " (7 syllables, scheme i)
- Verse 19. ' " (8 syllables, scheme j)
- Verse 20. { ' " (5 syllables, scheme d)
- { ' " (7 syllables, scheme k)

It isn't quite enough to visualize this rhymic scheme;

some more detailed information is necessary before drawing conclusions; and for reference I give the following line by line analysis.

- Line 2: The sixth syllable is invariably accented; and since the following two were invariably unaccented, it seems to have been the major ictus. There are only six exceptions to the accent of the first syllable and since it is with but one exception always followed by an unaccented syllable, that leaves it the secondary accent; while the middle of the line is but slightly more flexible with an accented syllable which has seven exceptions.
- Line 3: The last syllable has no exception ($\epsilon\iota\mu$ in θ' disregarded) The third syllable has three exceptions, two of which are identical since this line is repeated in $\iota\epsilon'$ and $\iota\eta'$. The first syllable has a faint accent with only nine verses where it is unaccented; although some of the accents, as in ξ' are on the article. Cf. with the first syllable in the first verse.
- Line 4: This eight syllable line has an unvarying accent on the first and sixth syllables. The fourth syllable is not accented in nine verses, and that makes a slight variation in the unaccent-

ed third which takes the accent in five instances. In spite of a slightly surer accent on the first syllable of this line, this rhythm corresponds to line two and assures the sixth as the major accent.

- Line 5: The major accent is ^{undoubtedly} ~~undisputedly~~ on the fifth of the six syllables in this line. Strophe $\kappa\gamma'$ has an extra short syllable in it and this could perhaps with proper manuscript evidence be emended by a simple change of $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ to $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$. If there is no authority for this, it might well be true that this is a sample of poetic license. There is no real offense to rhythmic regularity. The minor ictus that falls on the second syllable has only two exceptions and the middle of the line is only slightly more variable.
- Line 6: The only difference in this and the preceding line is the slightly more pronounced tendency to accent the first syllable and the increased regularity of the third and fourth syllables.
- Line 7: The only syllables at all variable is the third; the two accented syllables are very uniform, the only exception in either being in strophe $\iota\epsilon'$ where the $\gamma\alpha\rho$ that follows would force some accent on the last syllables of $\eta\kappa\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$.
- Line 8: This very regular line varies only in the third syllable.
- Line 9: An unvarying accent on the major ictus and only three verses with unaccented second syllables leave the middle of the line slightly variable.
- Line 10: More variable than verse seven in that the second syllable fails to get an accent in three strophes, this line is remarkably like it even in the occasional stressing of the third syllable.
- Line 11: This line is printed with line ten in one long line in the text to strophe $\kappa\gamma'$; but it should obviously be separated from it, since by so doing, line ten makes a complete line in the same scheme as line seven, and the entire strophe is of the correct length with the division. This line balances line eight with the last accent the major one and only five exceptions to the first syllable having a minor ictus.
- Line 12: With pronounced accents on both the first and last syllables, this short line has a tendency in some strophes (about half) to put a minor accent on the middle syllables, too.
- Line 13: Corresponding to lines eight and eleven the scheme here has no variations in the last three syllables but some in each of the first three.
- Line 14: This has the same general scheme as line ten only the second syllables here fails quite often (in seven strophes) to get a marked accent.
- Line 15: Strophe δ' is hypermetric and could easily be emended by the omission of the first η if we did not know that such license was very frequent. More important is the very

decided tendency to omit the minor ictus on the second syllable (eight strophes of eighteen have no accent there). The major ictus is invariable.

Line 16: This long line has two syllables, the fourth and the eighth, which are accented without exception. There are five or six attempts to put an emphasis on the first and second syllables, too; but not enough to justify placing a minor ictus there.

Line 17: This corresponds to the general scheme of the above; but it has a minor ictus on syllable two that is much more pronounced (has only six exceptions). Also, the accent on the fourth syllable has four exceptions here indicating that it is not as important as the last syllable ictus.

Line 18: This seven syllable line has no counterpart. The accent falls always on the third and sixth syllable; with a few strophes laying stress on the first syllable.

Line 19: An invariable major ictus, and a minor ictus on the third syllable which has but four exceptions make this line sound quite regular although the unaccented syllables are frequently accented and there are three lines with an incorrect number of syllables (although even they have the next to the last foot accented). Strophe η' seems to omit an unaccented syllable just before the major ictus (); ϵ' seems syncopated at the start (); while β' adds a syllable and seems to have this scheme: (). If emendations are being considered the $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ might be dropped from the $\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon$ in β' ; and $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$ in ϵ' might become $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$. The latter is an especially violent change, but evidently no more so than some of Pitra's suggestions as quoted by Krumbacher.

Refrain: The refrain really should be printed in two parts since the first five syllables make a scheme corresponding to lines seven, ten, and fifteen; and there is still a seven syllable line left.

There are many general conclusions that this detailed study make possible; but they will be more valuable after a similar study of two more hymns. Before proceeding to that, it is worth while to make a study also of the sense pauses in this poem, and by comparing them with the rhythmic scheme arrive at not only a line-division within the strophe, but also some large divisions consisting of groups of lines.

In marking these sense pauses, there should be a distinction between primary and secondary pauses; but this so often depends on a very arbitrary subjective decision in regard to the

sense that all are marked alike in the table below:³

Sense Pauses in the Christmas Hymn

Verse No.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
α' Strophe	X				X														
β'	X	X	X		X										X	X	X		X
γ'					X			X	X	X		X			X				X
δ'			X	X	X			X				X					X		X
ε'	X			X				X		X							X		X
ς'			X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X		X
ζ'	X	X	X		X			X				X							X
η'						X	X	X				X							
θ'	X	X	X		X			X											
ι'						X	X	X				X							
κ'	X	X			X			X			X					X			X
λ'	X				X			X			X					X			X
μ'	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X				X			X
ν'	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
ξ'	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
23	16	4	12	4	20	5	4	16	5	6	5	16	2	8	4	15	8	1	18

The real value of the table of sense pauses and the metrical scheme lies in its contributing evidence for division into the proper "cola"; for the troparia were rarely composed of individual members but of groups of two or three; and it is over this division that there has been discussion.

It will readily be seen in glancing at the frequency of the occurrence of the sense pause that there are many more instances at the close of lines six, thirteen, and twenty than anywhere else. Next in frequency come lines two, four, nine, and seventeen. If we group the metrical scheme according to the sense pauses we have:

a b	(14 syllables)	
a b	(" ")	
c c /	(12 syllables)	40 syllables
<hr/>		
d e f	(18 syllables)	
d e g e	(22 ")	40 syllables
<hr/>		
d d h h	(26 ")	
i ⁴ j	(15 ")	41 syllables

This makes such a reasonable division of the meter that it seems safe to print the strophes with indentations representing these divisions. So much of the α' strophe is gone that it is impossible to tell whether it was the hirmus or not from the text at hand,⁵ so

κγ' strophe is given below with the correction of line division (mentioned in the analysis of line eleven), and the typographical device of indentations which helps in conceiving the rhythmic parallels and grouping better than straight printing:⁶

Οὐχ ἀπλῶς γάρ εἶμι
 μήτηρ Σου, τέκνον εὖσπλαγχνον,
 οὐκ εἰκῆ γαλουχῶ
 τὸν χορηγὸν τοῦ γάλακτος
 ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπάντων
 ἐγὼ δυσωπῶ Σε.

Ἐποίησάς με
 ἄλου τοῦ γένους μου
 καὶ στόμα, καὶ καύχημα.
 ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔχει
 ἡ οἰκουμένη Σου
 σκέπην κραταίαν,
 τεῖχος καὶ στήριγμα.

Ἐμὲ δρῶσιν
οἱ ἐκβληθέντες
τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς.
ἐπίτρεπον αὐτοὺς ποτε
λαβεῖν αἴσθησιν τοῦδε,
δι' ἐμοῦ ὅτι ἐτέχθη

παιδίον νέον,
ὃ πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός.

Mary at the Cross:

In making the same type of study for "Mary at the Cross", we find by comparative analysis of the lines the following metrical scheme for a Hirmus which we do not have given in this text. 7

- Verse 1. — — — — — — — — — — (6 syllables, scheme a)
- Verse 2. — — — — — — — — — — (6 syllables, scheme a)
- Verse 3. — — — — — — — — — — (7 syllables, scheme b)
- Verse 4. — — — — — — — — — — (8 syllables, scheme c)
- Verse 5. — — — — — — — — — — (4 syllables, scheme d)
- Verse 6. — — — — — — — — — — (7 syllables, scheme b)
- Verse 7. — — — — — — — — — — (5 syllables, scheme e)
- Verse 8. — — — — — — — — — — (6 syllables, scheme f)
- Verse 9. — — — — — — — — — — (7 syllables, scheme b)
- Verse 10. — — — — — — — — — — (6 syllable, scheme g)
- Verse 11. — — — — — — — — — — (6 syllables, scheme a)
- Verse 12. — — — — — — — — — — (7 syllables, scheme b)
- Verse 13. — — — — — — — — — — (6 syllables, scheme a)
- Verse 14. — — — — — — — — — — (7 syllables, scheme b)
- Verse 15. — — — — — — — — — — (5 syllables, scheme e)
- Verse 16. — — — — — — — — — — (6 syllables, scheme a)
- Verse 17. — — — — — — — — — — (6 syllables, scheme a)
- Verse 18. — — — — — — — — — — (6 syllables, scheme f)

Verse 19. — — ⁵ — — — — — — — (7 syllables, scheme b)
Verse 20. — — — — — — — — — — (7 syllables, scheme h)
Verse 21. — — — — — — — — — — (7 syllables, scheme h)

The detailed line analysis shows:

- Line 1. There are no strophes which fail to give this line two accents. The fourth syllable is stressed about one half the time and unstressed one-half the time.
- Line 2. ^ι Strophe and ^α strophe each have hypermetric lines which seem to have increased the verse by anacrusis. If it were classical verse we should say that the one begins with an anapaest instead of an iambic foot and the other with a dactyle instead of an iambus. It would be easy here to imagine the first two syllables of each of these lines run together by the singer.⁸ We have a scheme exactly equivalent to line one even to the frequent stress on the fourth syllable.
- Line 3. A remarkably uniform line of seven syllables. The first is stressed eight times and unstressed nine times, the rest are practically invariable.
- Line 4. There are two major icti here that never vary; but the fifth syllable is almost as apt to go unstressed as not. The first syllable has a still weaker stress. ^η strophe leaves off the first commonly stressed syllable. (One could supply an explanatory ^ω here).
- Line 5. This short line varies the first syllable eight times and must have given it some slight stress.
- Line 6. The frequently accented first syllable seems to be a minor ictus to the two major ones that never vary. Weaker still is the tendency to stress the fifth syllable (six strophes do so.)
- Line 7. A minor ictus on the first syllable and a major one on the fourth are the chief characteristics of this regular line. There are five exceptions to the secondary accent.
- Line 8. The primary ictus never varies, the secondary accent on the first syllable has but one exception, while that on the third syllable has three exceptions.
- Line 9. It is a bit unusual here to have the most uniform syllables in the middle of the line; and yet the last two have just one exception each. There are five examples of a stressed first syllable to start with.
- Line 10. Very regularly recurring stressed and unstressed syllables at the end of this short line, and a secondary accent at the first of the line (with six exceptions) are quite typical,

and provide a scheme but slightly different from that of lines one and two.

- Line 11. Repeating the scheme first used with six strophes stressing the fourth syllable this verse also corresponds in its variable first syllable.
- Line 12. This is equivalent to lines three and nine but has more tendencies than they toward stressing the first and fifth with a minor accent.
- Line 13. This line corresponds to the first scheme. ζ' strophe has a hypermetric line with an added stressed syllable at the start.
- Line 14. This varies not at all from line six even to the secondary accent on the first syllable. Strophe α' lacks the two last syllables.
- Line 15. A duplicate to line seven.
- Line 16. The first syllable varies more here than in lines one and two; otherwise, they are identical.
- Line 17. The fourth syllable here as in line one is often stressed. The major icti remain the same.
- Line 18. This may be classed as equivalent to line eight although there are no variations here from a stressed third as well as fifth syllable. (only one exception to an accented first syllable).
- Line 19. This departs from scheme b only in that the third syllable is the one without variation and the fifth syllable is frequently stressed.
- Line 20. A seven syllable line with the major icti on the third and fifth and a minor accent on the first.
- Refrain. Repeats the scheme of twenty.

To compare the metrical schemes with sense pauses will give us the divisions within the strophe.

Sense Pause Table to "Mary at the Cross"

Verse No.,	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
α' Strophe						X	X		X		X			X		X	X	X	X	X
β' "						X			X					X		X	X			X
γ' "		X			X	X			X	X			X	X	X		X	X	X	X
δ' "					X	X			X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
ϵ' "	X	X		X		X	X		X		X			X		X			X	X
ζ' "	X			X	X	X			X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Sense Pause Table to "Mary at the Cross"(continued)

Verse No.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Strophe	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
"	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
"	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
"						X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
"			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
"		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
"								X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
"		X				X								X	X					X
"		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
"	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
"	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Totals	4	9	5	9	2	16	8	2	14	5	12	4	4	17	8	13	12	13	10	17

Lines seven, fifteen, and twenty-one receive the pause most frequently, and next in order are lines three, five, ten, twelve, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen.⁹ (The metrical scheme adjusts itself beautifully

to this division:

a a b	19 syllables	
c d	12 syllables	43 syllables
b e	12 syllables	
<hr/>		
f b g	19 syllables	
a b	13 syllables	50 syllables
a b e	18 syllables	
<hr/>		
a a	12 syllables	
f	6 syllables	25 syllables
b	7 syllables	
h h	14 syllables	

The α' strophe has some departures from the general scheme; but the last strophe of the hymn can be printed with the indentations to correspond to the sense pauses and the metrical scheme:

Υἱὲ τῆς παρθένου
θεῆ τῆς παρθένου
καὶ τοῦ κόσμου ποιητά.
Σὸν τὸ πάθος, σὸν τὸ βάθος
τῆς σοφίας
Σὺ ἐπίστασαι ὃ ἦς
καὶ ὃ ἐγένου,

Σὺ παθεῖν θελήσας
κατηξίωσας ἐλθεῖν
ἄνθρωπον σῶσαι.
Σὺ τὰς ἀμαρτίας
ἡμῶν ἦρας ὡς ἄμνός.
Σὺ ταύτας νεκρώσας
τῇ σφαγῇ σου ὡς Σωτῆρ
ἔσωσας πάντα.

Σὺ εἶ ἐν τῷ πάσχειν
καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ πάσχειν.
Σὺ εἶ θνήσκων σώζων,
Σὺ παρέσχες τῇ σεμνῇ
παρρησίαν κράζειν σου.
ὁ υἱὸς καὶ θεὸς μου,

Judas:

"Judas has longer and more complicated lines but a comparative analysis yields the following scheme:¹⁰

- Line 1. " _ _ ' _ _ " _ _ (9 syllables, scheme a)
- Line 2. ' _ _ " _ _ ' _ _ " _ _ (11 syllables, scheme b)
- Line 3. _ _ _ ' ' _ _ " _ _ (10 syllables, scheme c)
- Line 4. _ _ ' _ _ " _ _ (9 syllables, scheme d)
- Line 5. _ _ ' _ _ ' _ _ (9 syllables, scheme d)
- Line 6. ' _ (') ' _ (') _ " _ _ (10 syllables, scheme e)
- Line 7. ' _ ' (') _ (') _ " _ _ (10 syllables, scheme e)
- Line 8. _ _ _ ' ' _ _ " _ _ (10 syllables, scheme c)
- Line 9. (') _ _ _ ' _ " _ _ (7 syllables, scheme f)
- Line 10. ' _ _ (') _ " _ _ (7 syllables, scheme f)
- Line 11. ' _ _ (') _ " _ _ (7 syllables, scheme f)
- Line 12. ' _ _ _ " _ (') _ _ _ " _ _ (11 syllables, scheme g)
- Line 13. _ _ _ " _ _ _ " _ _ (8 syllables, scheme h)
- Refrain 1 " _ _ ' _ _ " _ _ (9 syllables, scheme a)
- Refrain 2 _ _ ' _ _ " (4 syllables, scheme i)
- Refrain 3 _ _ ' _ _ _ " _ _ (8 syllables, scheme j)
- Refrain 4 _ _ ' _ _ _ " _ _ (8 syllables, scheme j)

The detailed line analysis follows:

- Line 1. There are two major icti that never fail to occur. In the fourth syllable, a minor ictus occurs to which there are four exceptions in strophes α', β', γ' and ιγ'. The third syllable has occasional stress. The last strophe omits the last three syllables entirely.
- Line 2. The unvarying major ictus on the ninth syllable is accompanied by a third syllable accent that has four exceptions. Much less strong are the accents on the first and fifth syllables where there are many exceptions. The seventh syllable is most variable.
- Line 3. The accent falls without exception on the eighth syllable. The fourth and fifth get the accent in all but a few strophes. The first and second syllables are quite variable but more often go accented and unaccented than the other way around. Strophe η' is hypermetric; by anacrusis at the beginning where the καὶ and οὐκ occurring together make a familiar example of such license.
- Line 4. The accent is always on the third from the last syllable and except for ζ' strophe also on the third from the first. There are tendencies also to stress the first and fourth syllables which vary more than any others in the line. The hypermetric line adds a syllable in ιβ' by anacrusis at the first where καὶ δ begins the line.
- Line 5. The same major and minor icti as the above and the same tendency to accent the first and fourth syllables. (This time with eight and nine exceptions respectively instead of nine and ten as in line four). Strophes δ' and η' are hypermetric; the latter by anacrusis at the first where καὶ ἄ (ποσμηχελι) begins the line, and in the former case where τὸν ἐν are the first words.
- Line 6. The major ictus on the third from the last syllable never varies; whereas the accent on the first and the fourth syllables has three exceptions in each case. The third and sixth syllables are quite variable but take an accent every now and then. Strophe ζ' has an extra syllable which seems to be the unaccented καὶ which precedes ἐπ-ἐπληστο; ιγ' is a syllable short (seemingly the first syllable is missing).
- Line 7. This line is undoubtedly equivalent to line 6 in scheme; for the major ictus never varies from the third from the last syllable and there is a secondary ictus with but few exceptions on the first syllable; also the sixth syllable has an accent of third-rate importance. The difference comes in

the third and fourth syllable; because whereas the secondary ictus falls on the fourth syllable in line six; it comes on the third in line seven. The fourth syllable in line seven shows no accent in eight strophes, and this corresponds to the third syllable of line six where eight strophes showed no accent. This the table indicates by parentheses around the accent that seems of third importance because of the frequency of exceptions.

- Line 8. This corresponds to line three where the eighth syllable gets an unvarying accent and the fourth and fifth each receive stress in all but four strophes. There is also an identical varying of the first and second syllables. η' strophe is again hypermetric with η being the extra un-stressed syllable.
- Line 9. In these seven syllables there is a slight tendency to accent the first or second (either ' or '); a more decided stress on the fourth syllable (only two exceptions); and an unvarying major ictus on the sixth syllable.
- Line 10. Here there is the same kind of difference between lines nine and ten as there was between six and seven; that is, the major ictus is the same; but in the minor icti we have an exact reversal; for whereas the first and second syllables varied in line nine they become stable here (with only two or three exceptions to the (), and the previously regular fourth and fifth are now apt to change stress (the fourth is unaccented with six exceptions and the fifth accented with an equal number of variations). This seems to prove that the scheme we have marked f really had three degrees of stress which we have indicated $''$, $'$, and $(\)$. The extra syllable of strophe ζ' occurs at the beginning where the line opens with $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta$.
- Line 11. Here is another proof of the flexibility of the minor accent; for this line which corresponds in scheme to lines nine and ten has only a slightly stronger accent on the first than on the fourth syllable. The major ictus at the end of the line never varies.
- Line 12. This eleven syllable line in a new scheme has its unvarying ictus in the fourth syllable, another major accent (with but one exception) in the tenth syllable; and a minor accent with only three exceptions in the first syllable. The sixth is accented half the time and unaccented the rest of the time. Strophe δ' has no twelfth line; ν' omits two syllables; and η' is hypermetric by anacrusis at the beginning. ($\kappa\alpha\iota$ is the first word).
- Line 13. There are two major icti here -- one on the fourth syllable (with two exceptions) and one on the last syllable (θ' reverses the ' to '). The first and second syllables are quite variable. γ' strophe has an extra accented syllable ($\kappa\alpha\iota$) at the beginning; ζ' has an unaccented hypermetric ~~with~~ $\epsilon\lambda$ at the beginning.

Sense Pauses in "Judas"

Verse No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Strophe			X		X			X	X	X		X	X
"	X		X	X	X	X					X	X	X
"				X	X	X			X				X
"		X			X	X		X				X	X
"		X		X	X	X	X				X	X	X
"	X			X	X	X		X				X	X
"				X	X	X	X	X			X		X
"			X		X			X		X			X
"	X				X			X		X	X		X
"	X		X		X	X		X					X
"		X	X		X			X	X		X	X	X
"		X			X		X	X					X
"		X			X	X		X		X		X	X
"			X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
"		X	X		X	X		X			X		X
"	X	X			X	X		X			X		X
"	X		X		X			X			X		X
"			X	X	X			X	X				X
"			X	X	X	X	X	X		X			X
"	X		X	X	X		X	X			X		X
"	X	X			X			X					X
Totals	9	8	11	8	23	14	5	20	6	7	10	6	23

Chief frequency: Lines five, eight, thirteen.

Second frequency: Lines three, six, eleven

Metrical Scheme According to Sense Pauses:

a b c	30 syllables	48 syllables
d d	18 syllables	
<hr/>		
e	10 syllables	30 syllables
e c	20 syllables	
<hr/>		
f f f	21 syllables	40 syllables
g h	19 syllables	
<hr/>		
a i	13 syllables	29 syllables
j j	16 syllables	

If printed according to this plan the α' strophe appears:

Τίς ἀκούσας οὐκ ἐνάρκησε
ἢ τίς θεωρήσας οὐκ ἐτρόμασε
τὸν Ἰησοῦν δόλῳ φιλούμενον
τὸν Χριστὸν φθόνῳ πωλούμενον,
τὸν Θεὸν γνώμῃ κρατούμενον;

Ποία γῆ ἤνεγκε τὸ τόλμημα,
ποία δὲ Θάλασσα ὑπέφερεν
ὄρωσα τὸ ἀνοσιούργημα;

Πῶς οὐρανὸς ὑπέστη
πῶς δὲ αἴθρη συνέστη,
πῶς καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἔστη
συμφωνομένου πωλουμένου τότε
προδιδόμενου τοῦ κριτοῦ.

Ἰλεως, ἰλεως, ἰλεως
γενοῦ ἡμῖν,
ὁ πάντων ἀνεχόμενος
καὶ πάντα ἐκδεχόμενος.

Conclusions To Metrical Study

There has been some advantage in working without a hirmus indication for these three poems, in that the analysis ceases to be concerned primarily with irregularities in the departures from the hirmus, and concerns itself only with the comparison of the accent fall in corresponding lines. This is, after all, the important question since Meyer had recognized in 1884 that the hirmus could be changed by its use in a new poem; and it was the variation of a verse in the same poem that needed study.¹¹

In regard to this variation, we find that in the three poems analysed here there is in every line at least one syllable which receives an unvarying accent in the corresponding line of every strophe. This principle has enough exceptions to make it similar to the rule about the fifth foot of a dactylic hexameter line in Latin, e.g. line thirteen in "Judas" has a major ictus in the last syllable which appears in all but the (Θ' strophe; and in the "Christmas Hymn", line seventeen instead of having the last syllable in strophe κγ' stressed with two unstressed preceding it has reversed that group to a — — scheme. Line twelve of the same hymn has no one syllable that unfailingly gets the accent. The general principle holds good however, (Compare with Christ's final law, Prolegomena p. LXXXIX) and it never fails in "Mary at the Cross".

Christ says that often the accents all fluctuate except¹²
in one case; and our study shows this true in twelve of the nineteen lines of the "Christmas Hymn"; in all but two of the verses of "Judas, and in fourteen of the twenty lines of "Mary at the Cross".

There is a pronounced tendency to have the unvarying ictus toward the end of the line. In the "Christmas Hymn", verse seven is the only one of which this is not true, and here the third from the last syllable is accented in all but one strophe. "Mary at the Cross" shows a great preference for the major accent on the next to the last syllable, and only one line (nineteen) fails to have a major accent on one of the three last syllables. "Judas" is still more striking in this respect; for, except for the irregular thirteenth line (see its analysis), there is the interesting case of the first eight lines all having a stress that knows no exception on the third from the last syllable, while the next four have it on the next to the last syllable.

This fact emphasizes the chant nature of the hymns, and it is easy to imagine that the "voice of the singer, which hardly changes in the delicacy of stress at the first of the line, here begins to be modulated."¹³

In analyzing the first and central parts of the lines where the flexibility occurs, frequent mention was made in the detailed line analysis of the interchange of ' _ _ for _ _ ' , or ' _ _ for _ _ ' and vice versa. This is quite in accord with quantitative poetry which permits the substitution of iambus for trochee, anapaest for dactyl, and vice versa.¹⁴ The first two syllables of verse nine in "Judas" are a good illustration of the ' _ frequently changed to _ '. The parallel with classical verse can be farther drawn by observing that there is one place in the line where the substitution is not permitted in both types of poetry, as indicated in the discussion of the invariable major ictus.

Concerning the hypermetric lines, we have already mentioned in the Introduction a variety of opinions. Pitra insisted on such an adherence to definite law that he emended the text to make the number of syllables come out right. With no manuscript at hand such a process has sometimes seemed easy, as the suggested emendations in the analyses of lines five and nineteen of the "Christmas Hymn" show. This method, however, is dangerous when there is manuscript authority against the change; and it becomes impossible to indulge in it seriously with no indication of manuscript readings.

Meyer¹⁶ calls attention to the preponderance of such words as ἡμῶν, ἡμῖν, ἡμᾶς or πατήρ, ἀμήν in the place where the shortening takes place. That has not been true in this study; but it is very noticeable that καὶ is the extra syllable in ten of the eighteen hypermetric lines. ¹⁷ In all but one of these cases it is also the first syllable. Its combination with a word beginning with a vowel (usually short- frequently οὐ) is also noteworthy,

e.g.:

"Judas",	η' 3:	καὶ οὐκ
"	, ιβ' 4:	" ὅ
"	, ς' 10:	" οὐδ'
"	, ιη' 12:	" ὅ
"	, γ' 13:	" οὐ
"	, η' 5:	" ἀ(ποσμήχει)
"Mary at the Cross"	, ιθ' 9:	" οὐκ
"	, ιε' 6:	" ἐγώ
"	, ι' 2:	" ἐξ

The other eight lines follow:

- "Judas"; δ' 5: τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπικαθήμενον;
"Judas"; η' 8: ἡ διάθεσιν περὶ τὰ πλάσματα
"Judas"; ιγ' 13: εἰ μὴ συγχωρήσει ὡς θεός;
"Christmas"; κγ' 5: ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπάντων
"Christmas"; δ' 15: ἢ τις ἡ τεκοῦσα;
"Christmas"; ιδ' 19: συνήκατε ὅτι ἐτέχθη
"Mary at the Cross"; α' 2: ἡ ἀμνὰς θεωροῦσα
"Mary at the Cross"; υ' 13: ἵνα μάθωσιν ἅμα

Christ explains the general problem of extra syllables by saying that the verses were increased by anacrusis -- beginning the lines now with iambic and now with anapaestic feet. This theory has much support in the above examples; for there are only two cases where it presents difficulties. In "Mary at the Cross", ιε', 6 the καὶ ἐγὼ at the start seemingly fits; but unless we count the last syllable the extra one, our general principle of the unvarying accent is broken. This objection is not insurmountable since we have already shown some exceptions to that principle. Line six of γ' strophe of "Judas" seems to have its extra syllable in the middle with the καὶ ἐπεπλήσατο combination.

Not only has this explanation the advantage of precedent in classic poetry; but it appeals strongly to the musical purpose of the hymns; for it is a well known musical principle that a few grace notes or extra notes may be put at the beginning of a hymn with no offense to the regularity of the rhythm at all. Nor is it necessary to assume that a sort of elision took place by having the voice of the singer run these syllables together. They could be pronounced quite distinctly.

All of these conclusions about the character of Romanos' meter point definitely to this same musical nature. The repetition of rhythm in definite lines is necessary and natural in a song, whereas it is difficult and unnatural in poetry which forms its meter by an exact recurrence of beat in successive lines. The lines in the strophes of Byzantine hymns that answer lines in other strophes and other lines in the same strophe give much the effect of counterpoint with interwoven melodies appearing and reappearing. The regular last syllables gives us the chant feeling and the extra syllables at the first as well as the flexible middle of the line are quite in sympathy with the rules for singing. We can, then, reduce all our conclusions to the main principle that the poet followed a "musical feel" that alone determined the placing of the accent, the length of the line and the grouping of the long and short lines.¹⁸

It seems perfectly true, also, that there was no lack of variety nor yet of precision. The correspondence of sense pause and metrical scheme is satisfying but far from arbitrary.¹⁹

Christ makes the statement that one certain kind of rhythm never prevails and impresses its form on the rest of the poem.²⁰ This is true; and yet the "Judas" hymn offers an interesting illustration of a poem that almost does that. A reading of the poem gives one a decided dactylic line effect; and an analysis reveals the " — — —" scheme for the close of the first eight lines without interruption, and even after this has changed in lines nine to thirteen to a " — — —" scheme, we return in the refrain to the " — — —" close.

It is hardly fair to use the terminology of classic quantitative poetry in regard to this rhythmic verse; and yet they are with all their differences not unlike. The lyrics of the classic

Greek poetry had strophes of unequal length, permitted substitutions of one foot for another, at the beginning of the line, and had often an unvarying foot at the end of the line. Romanos has sometimes been called the Pindar of the Christian poets³¹ and this implies metrical analogies that would make an interesting study in themselves. Christ claims that he studied the Byzantine poets because their meter showed no great departure from the classic poets;³² and "the cola divisions," he thinks, "are sufficiently similar to ancient verses that all the lines of lyric and dramatic poets might be fitted to byzantine meter."³³

The connection between the form of Byzantine poetry and Mediaeval Latin would also make a research problem in itself for we know that the Middle Ages recognized the similarity in Greek ecclesiastical poetry and Latin prose when they mixed the name of 'tropus' and that of 'praise', and when in the life of Cyprian, S. Caesar joined Latin prose and Greek song.³⁴ We also learn that the Latin writers of the Middle Ages used the rule of accent when the quantity of the syllable had been neglected.

English verse has, of course, used accent as its basis; and the so called 'free verse' of modern times is built on a phrase rhythm that has in spite of the modern poet's claim that he is getting away from iambs and dactyls a strong metrical beat. The analogy of such verse with the accentual verses of the Byzantines which have a strong rhythm of phrase (as indicated in the analysis of sense pauses), and which use rhythmic schemes that produce the effect of quantitative feet would again be tempting as a study. A comparison of the two based on no detailed study would seem to show a decided similarity in idea but a much greater observance of laws in the case of the Byzantine poets.

No matter how far any comparison is carried, one always comes back to the fact that Romanos has created a new poetry with principles unto itself. These general principles we have already summarized.²⁵

The statement that he created them may not be historically accurate; but certainly he is their first and greatest exponent.²⁶ The anonymous hymns of the fifth and sixth centuries recently published by Paul Maas²⁷ show the same general characteristics, and one of them "To the Holy Father" is stylistically and metrically very similar to Romanos. In fact, Pitra ascribed it to Romanos, but his authorship is unlikely because of the lack of name in the acrostich, and the reference to Mary as tutelary divinity of Constantinople. It is more likely a hymn that belongs to the period of "Kontakion-resurrection" or hymns written after the manner of Romanos.²⁸ There are similar relationships with Kontakia of an older period; e. g. the Lazarus hymn of Kyriakos.²⁹ The latter has neither the precision nor the ease and flexibility of Romanos' meter. The hymn of Justinian that Christ gives in his Anthology³⁰ as a sample of Antiphonal music is too short for any valuable comparisons but it seems to have the same general character.

Synesius, to whom Christ gives first place in his Anthology, is really a pagan philosopher who wrote of theological and philosophical disputations, and his hymns were never received in the ecclesiastical odes. He uses Anacreontic measure almost exclusively; and always has a quantitative meter. Gregory Nazianzenus, similarly, uses trochaic septenarius or iambic trimeter; and these poets together with Methodius, the martyr, and Clement of Alexandria are not writers of the rhythmic verse that has come to be known as the Byzantine hymn.

Sergios and Sophronios followed Romanos but belonged to the same period. Sophronios wrote anacreontics but also idiomela in the rhythmic style. Some of the latter were even incorporated into the Menaea and Horologium³¹; but are not as well known as his anacreontics; whereas Sergios (610 - 641 A.D.) wrote the well-known hymn that thanked Mary for her protection of Constantinople against the Persians in 630 A. D. Yet not even these poets who followed Romanos and had the advantage of his example approached him in reputation. Krumbacher cannot be refuted when he says "vor allen der grösste Vertreter dieser gattung, Romanos".³²

John of Damascus who invented the elaborate canon is his only rival for supremacy among the Greek hymnographers; and he wrote so much more complicated, sophisticated and deeply theological poems at a date considerably after Romanos that comparison is hardly fair, although the simple beauty of the earlier poet would never lack for admirers when it is put beside the more complicated technique.

Certainly a proper handling of rhythmic verse was not easy; and yet in Romanos, the reputed originator, we find, as indicated in the above study, an art which transcends art. Rules are observed, and the flow of rhythm is continuous; yet the poet is perfectly free and easy, and the verse correspondingly flexible. Bouvy says of him: "S. Romanos is the first of poets and his works represent the liturgic hymn or religious drama at its perfection.....add a supple rhythm which is harmonious and then, to increase his genius, the incomparable setting of oriental churches ,.....follow the melody in all the phases of the sacred cycleand you will conclude that Christianity ought not envy antiquity its lyric poets."³³ This musical and oriental setting is necessary for a complete metrical appreciation. Once the student of Romanos sees that the poet was working from a musical feel, and that his strophes have just that sort of architectural

harmony, then he can agree that metrically, as in other ways, Romanos deserves the title Pitra gave him: "veterum melodorum princeps", and that he was really a "born poet who is at the same time one of the greatest and the least known -- one who should be accredited with the beginning of a branch of Greek literature."³⁴

NOTES TO STUDY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. This edition (third) of 1923 labeled τῶν μαθητῶν τῆς Γ' τάξεως τῶν γυμνασίων gives no manuscript authorities; and the three Romanos hymns in it seem to have been taken from church collections (πρὸς χρῆσιν). The notes on the Christmas hymn, after stating that this was sung down to the twelfth century yearly at Christmas by double choirs of Santa Sophia and the church of the Holy Apostles, or at the official imperial banquet, adds that in the Menaea for the twenty-fifth of December only the κουκούλιον and the first οἶκος are now left. No statement is made as to the authority for the text of the rest of the hymn.
2. In ιγ' the third syllable is the ι of φησι; and in κγ' the last syllable is the ι of εἶμι; but these two enclitics could hardly be called exceptions.
3. This follows the example of Krumbacher: Studien, p. 88: "Wollte man ganz genau sein, so müssten auch die Stärkegrade der Pausen angedeutet werden; da jedoch die grade sehr verschieden sind und also eine Reihe diakritischer Zeichen nötig machen wurden und da die Bestimmung der verschiedenen Stärkegrade vielfach von der subjektiven Auffassung abhängt, so habe ich die Pausen ohne Bezeichnung ihrer Stärke aufgeführt."
4. If this line of the refrain were divided as it should be, there would have been a frequent sense pause here.

5. Since the second syllable is unaccented in α' strophe, and this does not correspond with the majority of verses, the chances are somewhat against α' being the hirmus.
6. e.g. κρ' strophe-the first six lines in the text are:

Οὐχ ἀπλῶς γάρ εἶμι
 μήτηρ Σου, τέκνον εὖσπλαγχνον,
 οὐκ εἰκῆ γαλουχῶ
 τὸν χορηγὸν τοῦ γάλακτος
 ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπάντων
 ἐγὼ δυσωπῶ Σε.

7. The notes give as the only indication of source:

"Ἐν τῷ Τριψδίῳ παρελήφθη ἐκ τούτου
 μόνον τὸ προοίμιον καὶ ἡ α' στροφή."

8. See Christ: Proleg., p. C.

9. Line twenty is not included since it is the last line before the refrain and necessarily gets a pause.

10. In these long lines an accent of third importance is indicated by (').

11. Krumbacher: Studien, p. 82.

12. Christ: Proleg., p. LXXXIX.

13. Christ: Proleg., p XC.

14. Christ: Proleg., p. C:

Romanos in the Psalm of the Holy Apostles, a twenty-four strophe ode which includes now nine, now ten, and now eleven syllables has a double form in mind

' " "
' " "

A frequent variation is ' to ' , and ' to
' .

Christ: Proleg., p. XCIX:

The cretic foot is substituted for choriambic in Romanos' Psalm of the Holy Apostles. " becomes " .

License at the end of the verse is much rarer.

Christ: Proleg., p. XCIV:

In the middle of the verse, there is no obstacle to keep them from putting four instead of three syllables since they used greater flexibility of the voice there.

15. See Introduction, p. 9 for the points against this method.

It is worth noticing that the seemingly satisfactory substitution of πάντων for ἀπάντων has to compete with an equally satisfactory solution of the problem of the extra syllable by anacrusis -- the two first words are ἀλλ' ὑπέρ.

16. Meyer: Anf. und Urs. as quoted by Krumbacher: Studien, p. 82

17. "Judas", 9, 6: καὶ ἐπεπλήστω"

18. See Krumbacher: Gesch. d. Byz. Litt., p. 333.

19. It will be noticed in the SENSE PAUSE TABLES that even the major pauses are rarely observed without exception.

20. Christ: Proleg., p. CII

21. Κοντάκια και Κάνονες: Notes to Christmas Hymn, p. 102:

"Αἱ προσωποποιήσεις, τὰ ποικίλα ῥητορικά σχήματα, ὁ δραματικὸς διάλογος, τὸ γοργὸν τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ ἡ πλουσία καὶ καθαρὰ γλῶσσα τοῦ ποιήματος δεικνύουσιν ὅτι δικαίως ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπωνυμάσθη Πίνδαρος τῆς χριστιανικῆς καθόλου ποιήσεως."

22. Preface to Anthologia, p. III: "nam ----- patet".

23. Christ: Proleg., p. LXXXVIII.

24. Ibid., p. LXXIII

25. No mention has been made of rhyme; and it is not a major consideration in the discussion of church poetry -- that is, in the sense in which we think of rhyme in English poetry or poetry with equal lines. When used by the Byzantines, it is, as Krumbacher points out (Gesch. d. Byz. Litt., p. 339), rather a device for binding long and short lines. Assonance is the real characteristic trait. There are many examples in Romanos and his contemporaries of assonance and rhyme:

"Judas" ε', 1 - 6

Ἄδικε, ἄστοργε, ἄσπονδε,
πειρατά, προδότα, πολυμήχανε,
τί γέγονεν, ὅτι ἠθέτησας;
τί ἰδὼν οὕτως ἠφρόνησας;
τί παθὼν οὕτως ἐμίσησας;

See also the stanzas printed in this study-- especially the α' str ophe of "Judas".

The reader must be careful not to look at such combinations as μούσαι and ἔχουσαι and think of them as rhymes.

A detailed study of assonance belongs under a discussion of the rhetorical devices of the style of Romanos.

26. Christ: Proleg., p. XXXII:

Anthimos and Timocles were really the first hymn writers, (fl. 460 A.D.) but none of their hymns have survived.

Anatolius and Syceotas have no right to be ranked with the very old writers because Anatolius was falsely dated as Patriarch of Constantinople in the fifth century, and it is doubtful if Syceotas who composed the idiomela is the "episcopus Anastasiopolitanus".

27. See Bibliography.

28. Ibid., p. 24, (This contains a discussion of theories of authorship).

29. The second hymn in Κοντάκια καὶ Κάνορες.

30. Carm. Anth., p. 52ff.
31. // Christ: Proleg., p. LIII.
32. Krumbacher: Gesch. d. Byz. Litt. , p. 311.
33. Bouvy: Etude sur les origines, p. 367.
34. Krumbacher: Gesch. d. Byz. Litt., p. 317.

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